

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 117426
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:TNILES:HM
APPROVED BY IO:GBHELMAN
EUR/WE: DOBBI S (DRAFT)
EUR/SE:GCHAPMAN(DRAFT)
EA/V :FBROWN(DR T
HA:LMORIN(DRAFT)
S/S-O:SVALERGA

-----046850 090145Z /61

O R 090043Z MAY 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 117426

STADIS/////////
EXDIS - FOR MAYNES FROM HELMAN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, US, FR

SUBJECT: BRIEFING MATERIAL FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY MAYNES

1. FOLLOWING IS BRIEFING MATERIAL ON UN ISSUES FOR ASSIST-
ANT SECRETARY MAYNES' TALKS WITH QUAI OFFICIALS MAY 9:
2. NAMIBIA. YOU WILL HAVE SEEN REPORTS ON THE SOUTH
AFRICAN RAID INTO ANGOLA AND THE UN RESPONSE IN THE FORM
OF RESOLUTION 427 ADOPTED MAY (TEXT OF RESOLUTION IS IN
USUN 1834 WHICH WAS SENT TO PARIS). THE OTHER KEY DEVE-
LOPMENT WAS SAM NUJOMA'S DECISION TO DEPART NEW YORK MAY 8
PRIOR TO THE TALKS SCHEDULED WITH THE CONTACT GROUP.
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NUJOMA ADVISED THAT HE HAD BEEN CALLED BACK TO LUSAKA BY
HIS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO CONSIDER THE CONSEQUENCES OF
THE SOUTH AFRICAN RAID. PRIOR TO NUJOMA'S DECISION TO
DEPART NEW YORK, EMBASSY LUSAKA WAS ADVISED BY MARK CHONA
THAT PRESIDENT KAUNDA WAS CONSIDERING ORGANIZING A FRONT-
LINE SUMMIT IN LUSAKA TO PUT PRESSURE ON NUJOMA TO ACCEPT
THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSAL. IN THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES,
WE BELIEVE THAT KAUNDA'S PROPOSAL HAS PARTICULAR MERIT,
AND THE CONTACT GROUP HAS GONE OUT WITH A MESSAGE STRONGLY
ENCOURAGING THIS INITIATIVE. SHOULD THE MEETING TAKE

PLACE, DON MCHENRY MAY GO TO LUSAKA TO BE PRESENT AS
NEEDED. WE EXPECT HIM TO BE ACCOMPANIED BY OTHER CONTACT

GROUP MEMBERS. ON WALVIS BAY, THE CONTACT GROUP APPEARS
TO BE TENDING TOWARD A SOLUTION WHICH WOULD INVOLVE TWO
SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS, ONE APPROVING OUR PROPOSAL
AND THE OTHER STATING THAT WALVIS BAY IS AN INTEGRAL PART
OF NAMIBIA. UNDER THIS SCENARIO, THE WESTERN FIVE WOULD
ABSTAIN ON THE WALVIS BAY RESOLUTION AND MAKE THEIR
STATEMENTS REGARDING THEIR VIEW OF THE PROPER OUTCOME
OF NEGOTIATIONS ON WALVIS BAY BETWEEN AN INDEPENDENT
NAMIBIAN STATE AND SOUTH AFRICA. WE ARE ALSO WORKING
ON TACTICS TO HOLD SOUTH AFRICA ON OUR PROPOSAL.

TALKING POINTS:

A) ALTHOUGH THE SOUTH AFRICAN RAID INTO ANGOLA WAS
CLEARLY A SETBACK TO OUR EFFORTS, WE MUST PRESS SWAPO
FOR AN EARLY DECISION.

B) WE SHOULD BE ALERT TO THE POSSIBILITY OF ACCOMMODATING
SWAPO'S CONCERNS OUTSIDE THE PROPOSAL IN A MANNER WHICH
WILL NOT JEOPARDIZE SOUTH AFRICA'S ACCEPTANCE.
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C) THE WALVIS BAY ISSUE CONTINUES TO BE THE MAJOR
STICKING POINT. THE CONTACT GROUP IS NOW EXAMINING THE
POSSIBILITY OF A SOLUTION WHICH WOULD INVOLVE TWO SECURITY
COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS, ADOPTED AT THE SAME TIME, ONE OF
WHICH WOULD APPROVE OUR PROPOSAL AND THE OTHER WOULD
STATE THAT WALVIS BAY IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF NAMIBIA.
UNDER THIS PROPOSAL, THE WESTERN FIVE WOULD ABSTAIN ON
THE SECOND RESOLUTION AND MAKE THE EXPLANATORY STATEMENTS
WHICH WE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING REGARDING OUR VIEW OF HOW
NEGOTIATIONS ON WALVIS BAY BETWEEN NAMIBIA AND SOUTH
AFRICA SHOULD CONCLUDE.

3. SOUTHERN LEBANON. WE HOPE TO SEND OUT A CABLE OF
INSTRUCTIONS TO USUN AND OTHER POSTS OUTLINING A NUMBER
OF STEPS AIMED AT HALTING THE ATTACKS UPON UNIFIL. WE
WILL REPEAT IT TO YOU. YOU MAY DRAW ON THIS INSTRUCTION,
DESCRIBING OUR DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS AND ASKING FRENCH TO
CONSIDER MAKING SIMILAR REPRESENTATIONS. YOU MIGHT ALSO
EXPRESS OUR ADMIRATION FOR FRANCE'S CONTRIBUTION TO UNIFIL
AND OUR SYMPATHY FOR THE LOSSES FRANCE HAS SUSTAINED.

4. UNFICYP FINANCING. THE CURRENT DEFICIT OF UNFICYP
NOW EXCEEDS DOLS 50 MILLION. THE SECRETARY GENERAL ISSUED
A SPECIAL APPEAL TO ALL MEMBER STATES IN MARCH ASKING
THEM TO RESPOND PROMPTLY AND GENEROUSLY WITH A VOLUNTARY
CONTRIBUTION TO ENABLE UNFICYP TO CARRY OUT ITS IMPORTANT
FUNCTION. WHILE WE EXPECTED WALDHEIM WOULD RAISE THE

UNFICYP CONTRIBUTION ISSUE WITH THE FRENCH DURING HIS VISIT TO PARIS JANUARY 30, WE HAVE LEARNED FROM THE SECRETARIAT THAT HE DID NOT DO SO. WHEN OUR EMBASSY LAST DISCUSSED THIS MATTER WITH THE QUAI, IT LEARNED THAT THE MFA HAD INCLUDED A CONTRIBUTION TO UNFICYP IN THE PROPOSED BUDGET SENT TO THE FINANCE MINISTRY. THE EMBASSY PLANNED TO MAKE AN INFORMAL SOUNDING WITH THE CONFIDENTIAL

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FINANCE MINISTRY TO SEE IF THIS ITEM WOULD BE RETAINED IN THE BUDGET.

TALKING POINTS:

A) UNFICYP'S DEFICIT IS CONTINUING TO GROW, WHILE A FEW WESTERN COUNTRIES BEAR A DISPROPORTIONATE SHARE OF THE COSTS. THE UN'S DECISION NOT TO REPLACE THE FINNISH CONTINGENT LAST FALL WAS IN PART DUE TO UNFICYP'S CRITICAL FINANCIAL SITUATION.

B) THE US WILL CONTRIBUTE ITS FAIR SHARE TO UNFICYP. WE NOW CONTRIBUTE OVER 40 PERCENT OF TOTAL CASH CONTRIBUTIONS, OR ABOUT 28 PERCENT OF TOTAL COSTS, INCLUDING COSTS ABSORBED BY TROOP-CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES.

5. NON-ALIGNED MEETING. THE AFGHAN COUP PREVENTED THE MAY 6-10 MEETING OF THE NON-ALIGNED COORDINATING BUREAU (NACB). DESPITE MODERATE DOUBTS ABOUT CUBA'S POSITION IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT (NAM), THERE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN LITTLE OR NO OPPOSITION TO CUBA'S OFFER TO STEP IN AS SUBSTITUTE HOST, AND THE NACB MEETING HAS BEEN RESCHEDULED MAY 15-20 AT HAVANA. THE CHANGE OF VENUE GIVES CUBA THE ORGANIZATIONAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ADVANTAGE NORMALLY ENJOYED BY THE HOST. EVEN MORE IMPORTANT, IT COULD BE A FORECAST OF THE INABILITY OF THE NAM MODERATES TO CONTAIN CUBAN LEADERSHIP ASPIRATIONS IN THE MOVEMENT AS CUBA PREPARES TO ASSUME THE NAM PRESIDENCY.

YOU MAY WISH TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS WITH THE FRENCH:

A) FRANCE AND THE U. S. SHARE A COMMON INTEREST IN THE EFFORTS OF NAM MODERATES, SUCH AS YUGOSLAVIA, TO MAXIMIZE CONFIDENTIAL

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THEIR OWN LEADERSHIP POTENTIAL AND PREVENT CUBA FROM USING THE NAM FOR ITS OWN PURPOSES.

B) WE RECOGNIZE THAT THERE IS A LIMIT TO WHAT WE CAN USEFULLY DO TO ENCOURAGE THE MODERATES. WE DO NOT WISH

TO INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL ACTIVITIES OF THE NAM OR
TO APPEAR TO BE DOING SO. BUT CUBAN MILITARY ACTIVITY

IN AFRICA IN LEAGUE WITH THE USSR IS NOT CONSISTENT WITH
NON-ALIGNMENT AND CRITICISM OF CUBA WITHIN THE NAM COULD
HELP INHIBIT CUBA IN THE FUTURE.

C) WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN KNOWING HOW ZAIRE AND NIGER,
TWO FRANCOPHONE MEMBERS OF THE NACB, ASSESS THE CONSE-
QUENCES OF THE CHANGE OF VENUE OF THE NACB MEETING AND
HOW THEY PLAN TO REACT TO FUTURE CUBAN INITIATIVES IN THE
NAM. ZAIRE HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY CRITICAL OF CUBAN POLI-
CIES IN PRIVATE. IS THERE LIKELY TO BE A DISCUSSION OF
THE NAM IN THE FRANCOPHONE FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING
MAY 10-12.

D) WE WOULD BE GLAD TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH THE FRENCH
ON THE NAM AS PART OF OUR CONTINUING DIALOGUE ON INTER-
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION SUBJECTS.

6. CYPRUS INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS

WALDHEIM IS UNDER PRESSURE FROM THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT TO
RESUME THE TALKS NOW. AT THE SAME TIME THE GREEK CYPRIOTS
REMAIN ADAMANT THAT THEY WILL NOT PARTICIPATE IN RESUMED
TALKS ON THE BASIS OF THE TURKISH PROPOSALS. WALDHEIM
HAS CHOSEN NOT TO RECONVENE THE TALKS FOR THE TIME BEING,
MUCH TO TURKEY'S DISPLEASURE. ON MAY 2, HE ISSUED A
STATEMENT NOTING THE GAP BETWEEN THE POSITION OF THE TWO
PARTIES AND STATING THAT HE INTENDS TO CONTINUE HIS CON-
SULTATIONS IN ORDER TO CLARIFY THE POSITIONS OF BOTH
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SIDES. WALDHEIM WOULD LIKE TO WAIT UNTIL THE EMBARGO
ISSUE HAS BEEN RESOLVED IN CONGRESS BEFORE PRESSING FOR
RENEWAL OF TALKS. WHILE THIS DOES NOT HELP OUR EFFORTS
TO GET THE EMBARGO LIFTED, FURTHER EFFORTS BY US AT THE
PRESENT MOMENT TO GET HIM TO CHANGE HIS MIND WOULD CLEARLY
BE UNPRODUCTIVE.

TALKING POINTS:

A) WE RECOGNIZE THAT WALDHEIM FEELS HIMSELF UNABLE TO
RESUME THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS NOW BECAUSE OF THE WIDE
DIFFERENCES IN THE POSITION OF THE TWO PARTIES ALTHOUGH
HE INDICATED HE INTENDS TO CONTINUE HIS CONSULTATION
WITH BOTH SIDES.

B) OUR EFFORTS TO OBTAIN CONGRESSIONAL ACTION TO LIFT
THE ARMS EMBARGO TO TURKEY ARE UNDOUBTEDLY A COMPLICATING
FACTOR IN THE RESUMPTION OF THE TALKS. HOWEVER, REGARD-
LESS OF HOW THE EMBARGO ISSUE IS RESOLVED, WE BELIEVE

THAT THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS ARE THE BEST MEANS TO ACHIEVE A SETTLEMENT AND THIS MAY BE THE LAST OPPORTUNITY FOR SOME TIME TO GET SERIOUS TALKS STARTED.

C) WE HOPE THAT AS OPPORTUNITIES ARISE, FRANCE WILL IMPRESS ON BOTH PARTIES THE ESSENTIALITY OF RETURNING TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE AND SHOWING FLEXIBILITY AND GOOD WILL.

7. HUMAN RIGHTS IN CAMBODIA

THE PRESIDENT HAS EXPRESSED STRONG CONCERN REGARDING HUMAN RIGHTS IN CAMBODIA. THE DEPARTMENT HAS BEEN IN-CONFIDENTIAL

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STRUCTURED TO PROVIDE SUGGESTIONS FOR MEASURES, AS A FOLLOW-UP TO THE PRESIDENT'S APRIL 21 STATEMENT, WHICH MIGHT ENCOURAGE THE PHNOM PENH REGIME TO IMPROVE ITS HUMAN RIGHTS POSTURE. AMONG OUR SUGGESTIONS WAS THAT A "CORE GROUP" OF LIKE-MINDED NATIONS BE ESTABLISHED TO CONSIDER METHODS OF INFLUENCING THE CAMBODIAN GOVERNMENT TO ADHERE TO BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS PRINCIPLES.

THE CAMBODIANS ARE, OR WERE, FRANCOPHONE, AND FROM LONG EXPERIENCE THE FRENCH PROBABLY HAVE INSIGHTS INTO KHMER PSYCHOLOGY MORE PERCEPTIVE THAN THOSE OF ANY OTHER WESTERNERS. MANY OF THE CURRENT KHMER LEADERSHIP STUDIED IN FRANCE IN THE EARLY 1950'S.

TALKING POINTS:

A) WE ASSUME FRANCE SHARES OUR DEEP CONCERN REGARDING THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CAMBODIA.

B) A PARTICULAR PROBLEM IS THAT THE CAMBODIANS SEEM NOT TO BE SUSCEPTIBLE TO NORMAL INTERNATIONAL PRESSURES.

C) WOULD FRANCE SEE MERIT IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A "CORE GROUP", PERHAPS COMPRISING REPRESENTATIVES TO THE UN OF LIKE-MINDED GOVERNMENTS, TO CONSIDER THE CAMBODIAN HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS AND ATTEMPT TO DEVELOP MEANS OF PERSUADING THE CAMBODIAN GOVERNMENT TO CHANGE ITS POLICIES?

8. DISCUSSIONS OF OVERVIEW MECHANISM:

DISCUSSION IN THE OVERVIEW COMMITTEE ON AGENDA ITEMS 1 (WORLD ECONOMIC SITUATION PARTICULARLY AS IT AFFECTS

LDCS) AND 2 (TRANSFER OF REAL RESOURCES) HAVE GENERALLY BEEN ON A HIGH PLAIN AND NON-CONFRONTATIONAL, ALTHOUGH

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PAPERS SUBMITTED BY THE G-77 HAVE TAKEN TRADITIONAL POSITIONS. ITEMS 3 (MONITORING AGREEMENTS) AND 4 (FACILITATING NEGOTIATIONS) COME UP MAY 8 AND 9. INFORMAL WORKING SESSIONS ARE UNDERWAY TO SYNTHESIZE THESE DISCUSSIONS FOR USE BY PARTICIPANTS IN THE HIGH-LEVEL PHASE (MAY 10-12). NO CLEAR PICTURE HAS YET EMERGED ON THE END-PRODUCT. QUAI DIRECTOR OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS FROMENT-MEURICE, WHO WILL ATTEND THE HIGH-LEVEL PORTION, HAS TOLD EMBASSY PARIS HE IS NOT OPTIMISTIC ON THE OUT-COME.

TALKING POINTS:

A) WE ARE NOT LOOKING SO MUCH FOR CONCRETE RESULTS AS FOR A GREATER UNDERSTANDING OF ISSUES AND POSITIONS AND AN IMPETUS TO FURTHER CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE.

B) UNDER SECRETARY COOPER LOOKS FORWARD TO PARTICIPATING WITH FROMENT-MEURICE AND OTHERS IN THE HIGH-LEVEL DISCUSSIONS.

C) WE ARE FAVORABLY IMPRESSED AT THE CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE PLAYED BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY-GENERAL JEAN RIPERT (FRANCE) IN HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MEETING, AS WELL AS THE GENERAL WAY HE HAS TAKEN HOLD OF HIS NEW POSITION.

FOR THE FRENCH ROLE IN NEGOTIATIONS ON AN ILLICIT PAYMENTS CONVENTION, SEE PAPERS PROVIDED BY IEP FOR YOUR TRIP.

9. SSOD

DETAILED US-FRENCH SSOD CONSULTATIONS WERE HELD ON
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APRIL 25 AND MAY 2 (LEONARD AND YARMOLINSKY). RECOMMEND YOU REVIEW APPROPRIATE REPORTING CABLES: PARIS 13441, 14099 AND MOSCOW 9417 (US/UUSR SSOD CONSULTATIONS WHICH WAS SENT TO PARIS FOR INFO.)

DURING MAY 2 DISCUSSIONS LEONARD REVIEWED OUR POSITION ON POSSIBLE NEW UN ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATING BODY--THAT IT BE OF LIMITED SIZE, ACT BY CONSENSUS, AND INVOLVE THE CONTINUED PARTICIPATION OF COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE MADE A SUBSTANTIAL CONTRIBUTION TO INTERNATIONAL DISARMAMENT EFFORTS. LEONARD ALSO EXPLAINED US FLEXIBILITY ON THE CO-CHAIRMANSHIP OF CCD ON NEW NEGOTIATING BODY. ON THE

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QUESTION OF AN ORGANIC LINK BETWEEN THE NEGOTIATING BODY AND THE UN, LEONARD STATED THAT US COULD NOT ACCEPT SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT IF IT MEANT THAT THE UN WILL DETERMINE THE MANDATE AND PRIORITIES OF THE BODY, NOR COULD WE ACCEPT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ARRANGEMENTS BY WHICH THE AUTOMATIC UN MAJORITY WOULD DICTATE TO US ON MATTERS AFFECTING OUR VITAL SECURITY INTERESTS.

RE FRENCH INTERNATIONAL SATELLITE AGENCY PROPOSAL. ON MAY 2, LEONARD NOTED OUR SERIOUS RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE FEASIBILITY OF THE FRENCH PROPOSAL. AT FRENCH REQUEST, TEAM OF EXPERTS, HEADED BY JOHN NEWHOUSE OF ACDA, WILL BE IN PARIS MAY 16-17 TO CONDUCT FULL REVIEW OF FRENCH PROPOSAL.

US INITIATIVES. ALTHOUGH WORK IS PROGRESSING ON VARIOUS US INITIATIVES FOR SSOD (SECURITY ASSURANCES, FISSION-ABLE MATERIAL CUT-OFF, DISARMAMENT/DEVELOPMENT) NO DECISION HAS YET BEEN REACHED ON MAJOR PROPOSALS. WE THEREFORE DO NOT RECOMMEND INITIATING DISCUSSIONS ON THESE TOPICS.

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10. UN REFORM - SECURITY COUNCIL AND PEACEKEEPING

IN YOUR MEETING WITH WALDHEIM ON APRIL 21 YOU DISCUSSED OUR PROPOSAL TO HAVE THE SC HOLD ROUTINE CLOSED MEETINGS TO CONSIDER CONFLICT SITUATIONS BROUGHT TO THE COUNCIL'S ATTENTION IN REGULAR REPORTS FROM THE SYG. WALDHEIM AGREED IN GENERAL WITH THIS IDEA AND SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO GIVE IT FURTHER THOUGHT BEFORE DECIDING HOW TO PROCEED. HE SUGGESTED WE PURSUE THESE IDEAS IN PRIVATE CONSULTATIONS BOTH IN NEW YORK AND IN CAPITALS.

TALKING POINTS:

A) IN KEEPING WITH THE PRESIDENT'S REPORT TO CONGRESS ON UN REFORM AND RESTRUCTURING, WE ARE EXPLORING WAYS TO MAKE THE SECURITY COUNCIL MORE EFFECTIVE. WE ARE CONCERNED THAT SITUATIONS THAT OBVIOUSLY THREATEN INTERNATIONAL PEACE--WHERE THE COUNCIL MIGHT WELL BE HELPFUL IF SEIZED OF THE ISSUE--OFTEN ARE NOT BROUGHT TO THE UNSC BECAUSE OF POLITICAL CONSTRAINTS.

B) ONE OF OUR MAIN OBJECTIVES IS TO BRING POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS CONTROVERSIES TO THE COUNCIL MORE OR LESS AUTOMATICALLY.

C) IN DOING THIS, WE HOPE TO REINFORCE THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S PREROGATIVE UNDER ARTICLE 99 OF BRINGING TO

THE COUNCIL'S ATTENTION ANY MATTER WHICH MAY THREATEN
THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY.

D) WE THINK ONE WAY OF INSTITUTING THIS WOULD BE FOR
THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO INVITE THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO
SUBMIT REGULAR, PERIODIC REPORTS TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL
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PRESIDENT NOTING CONFLICT SITUATIONS THAT THE COUNCIL
MIGHT WISH TO CONSIDER. THE COUNCIL WOULD CONSIDER
THESE REPORTS IN CLOSED SESSION. IT COULD THEN DETERMINE
WHETHER THE SITUATION APPEARED SUSCEPTIBLE OF NEGOTIA-
TION, INQUIRY, MEDIATION OR SOME OTHERPROCEDURE FOR
PACIFIC SETTLEMENT.

E) WE WOULD APPRECIATE ANY SUGGESTIONS FRANCE MIGHT
HAVE.

F) I DISCUSSED THIS IDEA WITH WALDHEIM AND HE WAS
GENERALLY SUPPORTIVE OF IT. HE PLANS TO GIVE US HIS
VIEWS ON HOW WE MIGHT PROCEED WTH IT IN A FEW WEEKS.

VANCE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 26 sep 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: BRIEFING MATERIALS, UNGA RESOLUTIONS, INVASIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 09 may 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE117426
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: IO/UNP:TNILES:HM
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D780195-0480
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197805112/baaaeypo.tel
Line Count: 407
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 5c783895-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 8
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 03 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2539767
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BRIEFING MATERIAL FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY MAYNES
TAGS: PORG, US, FR, AO, (MAYNES, CHARLES WILLIAM)
To: PARIS INFO USUN N Y
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/5c783895-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014